

Manuskriptversion von:

Gallmann, Peter (2018): The Genitive Rule and its background. In: Ackermann, Tanja / Simon, Horst J. / Zimmer, Christian (eds.): *Germanic Genitives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins (= SLCS 193), 149–188.

Abweichungen von der gedruckten Version: Einzelheiten der Beispielnummerierung; keine Überschriftennummerierung; andere Schriftauszeichnung.

Introduction

Tanja Ackermann / Christian Zimmer

Peter Gallmann and Tanja Ackermann investigate German, where we can still observe clear instances of genitive case in nominal configurations. As Peter Gallmann shows, the distribution of genitive case can be depicted by a rule – the so-called Genitive Rule – which is an epiphenomenon based on a visibility condition for genitive case and the rules for the distribution of case, number, and gender features within the DP/NP. Via this rule, the occurrence of genitive syntagms and their competitors with other cases can be predicted quite exactly. Nonetheless, some deviations are to be observed: On the one hand we find constructions that are grammatical in spite of violating the Genitive Rule, and on the other hand there are constructions that comply with the Genitive Rule but that are perceived as ungrammatical. Those interesting mismatches between the Genitive Rule and the use of the genitive case receive particular attention.

The Genitive Rule and its background

Abstract

In the German Language, there are two types of rules that determine whether a DP/NP may bear genitive case or not. The type I rules handle the case assignment as in other languages with morphological case, including a visibility condition for the genitive case. The type II rules refer to the DP/NP-internal feature distribution. The interaction of these rules can be formulated as a corollary, the Genitive Rule. Since the type II rules are merely descriptive generalizations, the question arises to what extent the Genitive Rule really covers the diverse constructions with genitive case. On the whole, the Genitive Rule seems to predict the distribution of the genitive constructions and their competitors with other cases correctly. Nonetheless, two deviations are to be expected (and can be observed): (i) A construction is grammatical in spite of violating the Genitive Rule; (ii) a construction is ungrammatical in spite of complying with the Genitive Rule. In both circumstances a second question arises: Which factors trigger the unexpected behavior?*

* I would like to thank Rebecca Newton and Matthias Ludwig for proofreading and helpful comments.

Genitive and visibility

The main function of case is to clarify syntactic relations. As for the genitive: This case often appears in more complex structures than the other cases; therefore a specific rule evolved that guarantees the visibility of the genitive case (Plank 1980; Schachtl 1989; Gallmann 1990):

- (1) Visibility Condition for genitive case:
A genitive phrase must be overtly marked.

This is not the only visibility condition for Case in German. For example, neuter forms of pronouns cannot be used alone as indirect objects unless they are visibly marked for dative case; see (2 a). In (2 c), the object phrase contains a word form with the explicit case suffix *-em*; in (2 b/d) the dative phrases are governed by the preposition *mit* and are not indirect objects:

- (2) a. Dieser Vorfall gleicht *_[dative] nichts].
b. Dieser Vorfall ist _{[PP mit _[dative] nichts]} vergleichbar.
c. Dieser Vorfall gleicht _[dative] nichts anderem].
d. Dieser Vorfall ist _{[PP mit _[dative] nichts anderem]} vergleichbar.
(All:) This incident equals nothing else.

In German, there are only two markers that may fulfill the Visibility Condition for genitive case (1) sufficiently:

- (3) a. the ending *-es/s*, applicable to (i) masculine and neuter determiners/pronouns, (ii) masculine and neuter common nouns, (iii) article-less proper names of all genders (*-s* only)
b. the ending *-er*, applicable to adjectives and determiners/pronouns (feminine and plural)
c. but not the “weak” ending *-en*, applicable to nouns, adjectives and determiners/pronouns

Combining the general visibility rule (1) and the small inventory of available case markers (3), we can formulate a concretized version of the Visibility Condition:

- (4) Visibility Condition (v2):
A genitive phrase must contain at least one item that bears the genitive markers *-es/-s* or *-er*.

If the Visibility Condition cannot be met, a substitutive construction must be used. Such constructions can optionally be used in other ways (partially under some stylistic restrictions). In the following example, a PP with the preposition *von* serves as a substitute. In (5 a/b), the substitution is compulsive, in (5 c/d) optional:

- (5) a. * innerhalb [Städte].
b. innerhalb [von Städten].
(Both:) within towns
c. innerhalb [größerer Städte].
d. innerhalb [von größeren Städten].
(Both:) within bigger towns

However, the Visibility Condition (4) does not account for all data. For example, the Condition wrongly predicts that (6 a) is fully grammatical, while the data in (7 a) show that this is not driven by any lexical restriction:

- (6) a. ??? Der Konsum [Wassers] nimmt ständig zu.
 b. * Der Konsum [Wasser] nimmt ständig zu.
 c. Der Konsum [von Wasser] nimmt ständig zu.
 (All:) The consumption of water increases continuously.
- (7) a. Der Konsum [frischen Wassers] nimmt ständig zu.
 b. Der Konsum [von frischem Wasser] nimmt ständig zu.
 (Both:) The consumption of fresh water increases continuously.

The ungrammaticality of (6 a) can be explained by an independent set of rules – the rules for the DP/NP-internal feature distribution. These rules are discussed in the following section. As examples show, it is the interplay of the visibility rule (4) and the feature distribution rules that decides whether a DP/NP can bear the genitive case or not.

DP/NP-internal feature distribution in German

Obscure case forms

At first sight, case marking in German may seem to be rather obscure. The paradigms of nouns, adjectives and determiners/pronouns show much syncretism, the inventory of case markers is remarkably small, and some case endings appear in diverse paradigms with different feature values.

- (8) Table: Case syncretism in some typical paradigms

		nominative	accusative	dative	genitive
personal pronoun	1 st person singular	<i>ich</i>	<i>mich</i>	<i>mir</i>	<i>meiner</i>
	1 st person plural	<i>wir</i>	<i>uns</i>		<i>unser</i>
definite article	masculine	<i>der</i>	<i>den</i>	<i>dem</i>	<i>des</i>
	neuter	<i>das</i>		<i>dem</i>	<i>des</i>
	feminine	<i>die</i>		<i>der</i>	
	Plural	<i>die</i>		<i>den</i>	<i>der</i>
interrogative pronoun	masculine	<i>wer</i>	<i>wen</i>	<i>wem</i>	<i>wessen</i>
	Neutrum	<i>was</i>			<i>wessen</i>
noun	masculine (strong)	<i>Turm</i>			<i>Turm[e]s</i>
	masculine (weak)	<i>Prinz</i>	<i>Prinzen</i>		
	masculine (mixed)	<i>Name</i>	<i>Namen</i>		<i>Namens</i>
	neuter (mixed)	<i>Herz</i>		<i>Herzen</i>	<i>Herzens</i>
	feminine	<i>Prinzessin</i>			

The intransparency of the single case forms is at least partially compensated by combinatorial effects, caused by agreement within the DP/NP:

- (9) DP/NP-internal agreement:
 The determiner, the adjectives and the noun within a DP/NP share case, number und gender features.

If two or more items of the classes mentioned above appear in a DP/NP, they disambiguate each other.

Example: With respect to case, the items in (10) are highly ambiguous:

- (10) a. Apfel (apple)
 [nominative singular masculine]
 [accusative singular masculine]
 [dative singular masculine]
- b. Birne (pear)
 [nominative singular feminine]
 [accusative singular feminine]
 [dative singular feminine]
 [genitive singular feminine]
- c. der (the)
 [nominative singular masculine]
 [dative singular feminine]
 [genitive singular feminine]
 [genitive plural]

However, whenever two of these items are combined in a DP/NP, the comparison of the respective feature bundles reduces the ambiguity significantly. The number and gender features of the noun are the key to this process:

- (11) a. [der Apfel]
 [nominative singular masculine] [nominative singular masculine]
 [~~dative singular feminine~~] [~~accusative singular masculine~~]
 [~~genitive singular feminine~~] [~~dative singular masculine~~]
 [~~genitive plural~~]
- b. [der Birne]
 [~~nominative singular masculine~~] [~~nominative singular feminine~~]
 [dative singular feminine] [~~accusative singular feminine~~]
 [genitive singular feminine] [dative singular feminine]
 [~~genitive plural~~] [genitive singular feminine]

In (11 a), only one out of four possible feature bundles of the determiner is compatible with the three possible feature bundles of the noun. And in (11 b), the ambiguity is at least reduced.

Main and secondary feature bearers

Apart from the case, number and gender features, the inflection of the DP/NP-internal items is influenced by an additional factor, namely the distinction of main (or primary) and secondary feature bearers. The most familiar phenomenon controlled by this factor is the opposition between the strong and the weak declension of the adjective. However, as will be shown, the distinction works also with nouns.

The distribution of main and secondary feature bearers results from three interacting rules:

- (12) a. Each DP/NP contains an item of the syntactic categories D, A or N with the state of a *main feature bearer*. (The other items of these classes are secondary feature bearers.)
- b. Preferably, the *leftmost* item is the main feature bearer. But determiners and adjectives can take this role only if they are visibly inflected. If a determiner or an adjective does not meet this requirement, the next item to the right adopts this role.
- c. Adjectives (including nominalized adjectives) *share* their state: They are all either main feature bearers or secondary feature bearers.

There are some deviations from (12 c) in DPs/NPs with dative Case, see (13). Since this phenomenon does not play a role in the constructions discussed in the present article, it is not treated further here.

- (13) a. Nach [*langem, ungeduldigem* Warten] ist nun endlich die Baugenehmigung da.
www.aplust.homepage.t-online.de/Hohestr/7baubeginn.html; Jan. 2015
After a long time of impatient waiting, the building permission finally arrived.
- b. Als ich nach [*langem, ungeduligen* Warten] endlich die Zusage erhielt, war ich überglücklich.
www.schekker.de/content/...; Jan. 2015
When I finally got the approval, after a long time of impatient waiting, I was very happy.

The inflection of the DP/NP-internal items depends on whether they are main feature bearers or not:

- (14) a. Determiners have strong endings if they are main feature bearers; otherwise they do not qualify as feature bearers and remain uninflected.
- b. Adjectives have strong endings, if they are main feature bearers; otherwise they have weak endings.
- c. Nouns tend (!) to remain uninflected for case if they are main feature bearers, i.e., they receive case endings only if they are secondary feature bearers.

As for the “tendency” (14 c), see (19) below.

In (15) and the following examples, the feature bearers are shaded. In addition, the main feature bearer is underlined:

- (15) a. [D-er stark-e schwarz-e Kaffee] stärkt mich.
[The strong black coffee] boosts me.
- b. [Dies-er stark-e schwarz-e Kaffee] stärkt mich.
[This strong black coffee] boosts me.
- c. [Mein stark-er schwarz-er Kaffee] stärkt mich.
[My strong black coffee] boosts me.
- d. [Ein stark-er schwarz-er Kaffee] stärkt mich.
[A strong black coffee] boosts me.
- e. [Stark-er schwarz-er Kaffee] stärkt mich.
[Strong black coffee] boosts me.

The same distribution shows up with nominalized adjectives:

- (16) a. Anna trug [d-as klein-e schwarz-e Kleid].
 b. Anna trug [d-as klein-e Schwarz-e].
 c. Anna trug [ihr klein-es schwarz-es Kleid].
 d. Anna trug [ihr klein-es Schwarz-es].
 Ann wore [the/her little black dress]

For details such as the inflection of the determiners of the type *ein*, *kein*, *mein* see Duden (2009: paragraphs 1521–1524) and Gallmann (2015).

The interaction of visibility and feature distribution

The distribution rules (12) state that nouns are either main feature bearers or secondary feature bearers. They are main feature bearers...

- if the DP/NP lacks any determiner or adjective:

- (17) a. [Anna] liest [Bücher].
 [Ann] reads [books].
 b. [Öl] ist leichter als [Wasser].
 [Oil] is lighter than [water].

- or if the preceding items lack inflection endings and therefore cannot take the role of a feature bearer, see (18 c):

- (18) a. Anna trägt heute [das violette Kleid]
 Ann wears [the purple dress] today.
 b. Anna trägt heute [ein violettes Kleid]
 Ann wears [a purple dress] today.
 c. Anna trägt heute [ein lila Kleid]
 Ann wears [a pink dress] today.

If a noun is the main feature bearer of a DP/NP, it underlies the constraint (14 iii), repeated here as (19):

- (19) Nouns tend (!) to remain uninflected for case if they are main feature bearers, i.e., they receive case endings only if they are secondary feature bearers.

The first part of constraint (19) is handled in the usual German grammars under labels such as “omission of case inflection” (“Unterlassung der Kasusflexion”). It is a rather recent phenomenon of ongoing language change, i.e., the constraint has not yet established itself completely. The relativizing formulation in (19), emphasized with an exclamation mark, is due to this fact. Former periods of the German language did not have an equivalent of constraint (19); nouns were then inflected irrespective of whether they were main or secondary feature bearers. The new constraint has an anti-iconic flavor (the endings lack just when the noun is the main feature bearer); the author of this article has no idea why this constraint has emerged.

On closer inspection of the constraint, the following observations can be made, sorted by the few nominal endings of the German noun:

- Ending *-e* (dative singular of strong masculine and neuter nouns): The constraint captures the observable data rather exactly; there are only some lexicalized residues.
- Ending *-en* (weak masculine nouns; all cases but nominative): The establishment of (19) has progressed; however, there is still some variation.
- Ending *-n* (dative plural): The language change has just begun; most normative grammars judge the omission of this ending as non-standard.
- Ending *-es/-s* (genitive singular of strong masculine and neuter nouns): as with the dative ending *-e*, but some more residues.

In sum, constraint (19) can at this point be confined to singular forms.

- The ending *-e* (dative)

In the following examples, the DP/NP contains an apposition. In German, extensions of this kind must agree in case with the DP/NP in which they are embedded. The unambiguous dative forms (and the ungrammaticality of nominative forms) demonstrate that the DP/NP as a whole bears dative case. In spite of this, the core noun of the DP/NP, *Holz*, cannot receive the dative ending in (20 c). (Usually, this ending is a stylistically marked option, but in the respective context, the ending is excluded.) This behavior is predicted by constraint (19). Where necessary, the following annotations have been used in the examples:

- * ungrammatical
- grammatical, but non-preferred by prescriptive grammarians
- % grammatical, but stylistically marked
- § non-standard use (observable in spoken or written substandard)

- (20) a. * Er arbeitet mit [Holz, dieser universelle Werkstoff]
 b. Er arbeitet mit [Holz, diesem universellen Werkstoff]
 c. * Er arbeitet mit [Holze, diesem universellen Werkstoff]
 (All:) He works with [wood, this universal material].

Example (21) contrasts with (20). In (21), the role of main feature bearer is taken by the prenominal adjective. As predicted, the dative ending is an option here, even though stylistically marked:

- (21) a. * Er arbeitet mit [einheimischem Holz, dieser universelle Werkstoff]
 b. Er arbeitet mit [einheimischem Holz, diesem universellen Werkstoff]
 c. % Er arbeitet mit [einheimischem Holze, diesem universellen Werkstoff]
 (All:) He works with [locally grown wood, this universal material].

Fossilized expressions as residues of former periods of the German language:

- (22) a. Mir stehen die Haare [zu [Berge]].
 His hair bristles.
 b. Wir sollten uns das [bei [Tage]] ansehen.
 We should take a closer look. (Literally: We should view this in the daytime.)

- The ending *-en* of the weak masculine nouns

The language change continues and has not yet fully stabilized this area of case marking. The omission of the case ending is acknowledged by most the newer normative grammars of German. The constructions in (23) to (25) comply with the constraint (19), but contradictory examples with case endings can easily be found. See also Duden (2009, paragraph 1531).

- (23) a. Die Angelegenheit gestaltete sich im Vorfeld bereits deshalb sehr spannend, weil wir die Reise plötzlich ohne [eigenen Dirigenten] antreten mussten.
www.richterverein.de
The matter already was of great delicacy in the run-up, because we suddenly had to start the tour without our own conductor.
- b. Zur Philosophie des Ensembles gehört, dass es auch bei größeren Besetzungen in der Regel ohne [Dirigent] arbeitet.
www.jeunessesmusicales.de
It is the ensemble's philosophy to usually work without a conductor even when we have a big cast.
- (24) a. Ich war nicht live dabei, aber mit [dem Herzen] und [dem Verstand].
members.aol.com
I wasn't there in person, but with both my heart and soul.
- b. Alle sind mit [Herz] und [Verstand] dabei.
www.zvw.de
The whole staff is working with all their heart and soul.
- (25) a. Anders als in Europa steht keine »Apparatemedizin« zwischen [dem Arzt] und [seinem Patienten].
idw-online.de
Unlike in Europe, there's no hi-tech medicine standing between the doctor and the patient.
- b. Regelmäßiger Informationsaustausch zwischen [Arzt] und [Patient] kann Rheumabeschwerden günstig beeinflussen.
www.rheumatoide-arthritis.de
Frequent exchange of information between doctor and patient can help to influence the symptoms of rheumatism in a positive way.

- The ending *-n* of dative plural:

As stated above, the omission of this ending is judged as non-standard in most normative grammars; the lexicalized phrase (27) is a remarkable (and somewhat unexpected) exception:

- (26) a. § Der Leugnungsmechanismus hilft [Kinder] sich zu distanzieren und somit mit der Situation fertig zu werden
www.schulberatung.bayern.de/vpkri.htm; May 2007
The mechanism of denial helps children to view things from a distance and therefore to deal with the situation.
- b. § Auch Afrikas [Wälder] droht der Kahlschlag.
www.innovations-report.de/html/berichte/umwelt_naturschutz/bericht-48656.html; May 2007
The woods of Africa are also being threatend with deforestation.

- c. § Wir haben einen Milchreis mit [Früchte] und Zimt gekocht.
www.scout.at/wien14/gusp/gusp00.htm; May 2007
We cooked porridge with fruit and cinnamon.

(27) aus [[aller Herren] Länder]
from everywhere (literally: from the countries of all rulers)

- The ending *-es/-s* of the strong masculine and neuter nouns

The most interesting effect of constraint (19) can be observed in genitive phrases. Here, the constraint interacts with the Visibility Condition (4). This can be shown with the examples of block (6) and (7), repeated here as (28) and (29):

- (28) a. ??? Der Konsum [Wassers] nimmt ständig zu.
b. * Der Konsum [Wasser] nimmt ständig zu.
c. Der Konsum [von Wasser] nimmt ständig zu.
(All:) The consumption of water increases continuously.

- (29) a. Der Konsum [frischen Wassers] nimmt ständig zu.
b. Der Konsum [von frischem Wasser] nimmt ständig zu.
(Both:) The consumption of fresh water increases continuously.

In example (28 a), the noun bears an unambiguous case ending, as required by the Visibility Constraint (4). However, this noun is the main feature bearer of the DP/NP and must therefore remain uninflected. In example (28 b), constraint (19) is fulfilled – but the Visibility Condition is violated. In many comparable situations with competing imperfect constructions, one of them is chosen nonetheless – but not in the genitive constructions. Instead, a substitutive construction with the preposition *von* must be used, see (28 c).

In (29), the substitutive construction is only an option, in accordance with the fact that the noun is only a secondary feature bearer.

Data as in (28) or (29) suggest a compact formulation, derived from the Visibility Condition (4) and the “Omission Rule” (14 iii)/(19). In other words, the following rule is an epiphenomenon (Duden 2009):

- (30) **Genitive Rule**
A DP/NP can bear genitive case only if (i) and (ii):
(i) The DP/NP contains at least one non-nominal feature bearer.
(ii) The DP/NP contains at least one item with the ending *-es/-s* or *-er*.

Note: The Genitive Rule (30) does not state that the items that fulfill (i) and (ii) must be identical. See (31) and below, (103):

- (31) a. Das ist die Aufgabe [jedes Schülers].
b. Das ist die Aufgabe [jeden Schülers].
c. Das ist die Aufgabe [jedes Studenten].
d. * Das ist die Aufgabe [jeden Studenten].
(All:) That is the task [of every student].

Compulsory and optional substitutive constructions

As mentioned, almost all genitive constructions compete with other, substitutive constructions (for details see below). The substitutive constructions *must* be chosen if the Genitive Rule would otherwise be violated. In addition, they *may* be chosen even if the Genitive Rule predicts that the internal structure of the respective DP/NP would allow the use of the genitive case. We see an expansion of use here that is very typical: If two constructions compete – one of them with severe restrictions in use, the other with no such restriction – in the long term the one with no restrictions will outdo the other.

The most stable configurations with genitive case are those with high-frequency determiners, see list (32) (M/N = masculine/neuter, F = feminine):

- (32) High-frequency determiners (genitive forms):
- | | |
|----------------------------------|--|
| a. definite article: | <i>des, der</i>
<i>the_{M/N}; the_F</i> |
| b. demonstrative determiners: | <i>dieses, dieser; jenes, jener</i>
<i>this_{M/N}, this_F; that_{M/N}; that_F</i> |
| c. indefinite article | <i>eines, einer</i>
<i>one_{M/N}; one_F</i> |
| d. negated indefinite determiner | <i>keines, keiner</i>
<i>no_{M/N}; no_F</i> |
| d. possessive determiners | <i>meines, meiner; deines, deiner; ...</i>
<i>my_{M/N}, my_F; your_{M/N}, your_F; ...</i> |

The prescriptive grammars advise against the substitutive constructions with such determiners at least in written standard German (see, for example, Duden IX 2011: 372); however, substitutive constructions are not ungrammatical (and in spoken standard German, they are quite common). Substitutive constructions with adjectives, but without a determiner, are acceptable in both written and spoken standard German:

- (33) a. der Kauf des neuen Materials °der Kauf vom neuen Material
(Both:) the purchase of the new material
- b. der Kauf dieses neuen Materials °der Kauf von diesem neuen Material
(Both:) the purchase of this new material
- c. der Kauf alles neuen Materials der Kauf von allem neuen Material
(Both:) the purchase of all new material
- c'. der Kauf allen neuen Materials der Kauf von allem neuen Material
(Both:) the purchase of all new material
- d. der Kauf neuen Materials der Kauf von neuem Material
(Both:) the purchase of new material
- e. *der Kauf Materials der Kauf von Material
(Both:) the purchase of material

The substitutive constructions vary in accordance to the respective syntactic context, i.e., there is no universal substitutive construction.

Overview of the following discussion

The next three sections address the question to what extent the Genitive Rule (30) corresponds with the data:

- (30) **Genitive Rule**
 A DP/NP can bear genitive case only if (i) and (ii):
 (i) The DP/NP contains at least one non-nominal feature bearer.
 (ii) The DP/NP contains at least one item with the ending *-es/-s* or *-er*.

Indeed, mismatches between the Genitive Rule and the use of the genitive Case can be observed in some specific constructions. The following discussion is organized in three sections:

- The expected behavior: The Genitive Rule predicts the (un)grammaticality of the respective constructions.
- Unexpected behavior I: The Genitive Rule is observed, but the respective constructions are ungrammatical nonetheless.
- Unexpected behavior II: The Genitive Rule is violated, but the respective constructions are acceptable.

The expected behavior

In the modern German standard language, the use of the genitive case may be declining, but we still find many constructions with this case. This said, we must concede that the use as postnominal attributes widely prevails. In (34), the common genitive constructions of written standard German are listed. In the subsequent portion of this section, each type will be illustrated by at least one example.

- (34) List of genitive constructions in modern written standard language
- A. possessive genitive, prenominal
 - B. possessive genitive and related genitive constructions, postnominal
 - C. partitive genitive
 - D. explicative genitive
 - E. qualitative genitive
 - F. prepositional genitive
 - G. adverbial genitive
 - H. genitive object
 - I. appositive genitive
 - J. *als/wie* + genitive

In A to E, I and (partly) J, the genitive phrase is part of a matrix DP/NP. The constructions I and J are instances of case agreement, i.e., the genitive case is copied from another genitive phrase (matrix DP/NP or referential DP/NP).

A. Possessive genitive, prenominal

In modern standard German, the prenominal genitive construction is restricted to proper names, see (75) below. With other nouns, the construction is obsolete and appears almost exclusively in literary contexts. Substitutive constructions: (i) dative + possessive determiner (substandard), (ii) postnominal genitive.

- (35) a. Genitive construction: % [des Kaisers] neue Kleider
 German translation of Christian Anderson's tale "The Emperor's New Clothes"
 b. Substitution (i): § [dem Kaiser seine] neuen Kleider
 c. Substitution (ii): die neuen Kleider [des Kaisers]

In colloquial German, a forth construction can be found: PPs with the preposition *von* preceding the definite article and the noun. It seems that this construction prevails in expressions with personal nouns and occurs only in subject and direct object phrases. The author of the present contribution does not know of any studies on this construction:

- (35) d. [Von Eva die kleinere Schwester] wird auch mitkommen.
Eve's little sister will come along too.

The prenominal genitive construction and the substitutive construction (i) on the one hand and the substitutive construction (ii) on the other hand differ with respect to their information structure. In the unmarked use (no contrastive accent), it is always the second noun that attracts the accent in spoken language, indicating new information. In (35 a/b), this is the possessed item (here: *Kleider*), but in (35 c) the possessor noun (here: *Kaisers*).

In most German grammars, the substitutive construction (i) is handled under the term "possessive dative". Today, it is considered non-standard, but it can easily be observed in the spoken language of all parts of the German language area. Secondly, it appears also in written form, for example in internet forums:

- (36) a. § Mir doch egal wie [dem Stefan seine] zugelaufene Katze heisst.
www.viermalvier.de/ubbthreads.php/...; Dec. 2014
I don't give a shit what the name of Stefan's stray cat is (literally: the_{DAT} Stefan his stray cat).
 b. § Ich möchte jetzt sofort wissen, [wem seine] Idee das heute war!
www.autor-gs.de/JaWeg09/Unterwegs/090608B01.htm; Dec. 2014
I want to know NOW, whose idea this was (literally: whom his idea).

The possessive dative could also be found in the literary language of the 17th and 18th centuries, but since then, the construction fell in disfavor:

- (37) a. Auf [der Fortuna ihrem] Schiff ist er zu segeln im Begriff.
 Schiller, Friedrich (1799). Wallensteins Lager. In: Friedländer, Paul (ed.): Schiller. Ein Lesebuch für unsere Zeit. (1954). Weimar: Thüringer Volkerverlag. Page 354.
On [Fortuna's] ship, he is going to sail. (Literally: on [the_{DAT} Fortuna her] ship)
 b. Nachgehends stand es nicht lang an, dass [meinem Obristen sein] Schreiber mit Tod abging.
 GrimmeIshausen, Hans Jakob Christoffel von (1669): Der abenteuerliche Simplicissimus. Quoted after: <http://gutenberg.spiegel.de/buch/simplicius-simplicissimus-5248/110>. Last checked: 06.07.2017.
After that, it didn't take long for [my colonel's] clerk to die. (Literally: [my_{DAT} colonel_{DAT} his] clerk)

B. Possessive genitives and related genitive constructions, postnominal

Possessive genitive phrases and related genitive phrases such as the Genitivus subjectivus or the Genitivus objectivus predominate largely over all other genitive constructions in modern German (Scott 2014). Nevertheless, the substitutive construction with the preposition *von* 'of' appears not only to circumvent a violation of the Genitive Rule, but also in contexts where the genitive would be possible (however, see below (32) and (33)):

- (38) a. Genitive construction: der Verbrauch [schwefelhaltigen Öls]
 the consumption [of sulphurous oil]
 b. Violation of the Genitive Rule: * der Verbrauch [Öls]
 the consumption [of oil]
 c. Compulsory substitution: der Verbrauch [von Öl]
 the consumption [of oil]
 d. Expansion of substitutive construction: der Verbrauch [von schwefelhaltigem Öl]
 the consumption [of sulphurous oil]

C. Postnominal *Genitivus qualitatis*

This construction is restricted to lexicalized collocations. Only syntagms that obey the Genitive Rule can be found (however, see (96)):

- (39) a. eine Fahrkarte [erster Klasse]
 a first-class ticket
 b. eine Publikation [neueren Datums]
 a publication of recent date

Sometimes, PPs compete with the genitive construction nonetheless:

- (40) a. Genitive construction: eine Person [meinen Alters]
 b. Substitutive construction (optional): eine Person [in meinem Alter]
 (both:) a person of my age
- (41) a. Genitive construction: Menschen [guten Willens] können die Welt verändern!
 www.oberlahn.de/29-Nachrichten/...; Dec. 2014
 Men with good will can alter the world.
 b. Substitutive construction (optional): Menschen [mit gutem Willen] können eine Lösung finden.
 www.grenzecho.net/...; Dec. 2014
 Men with good will can find a solution.

D. Postnominal *Genitivus explicativus* (explicative genitive)

There are several explicative constructions. In most contexts, they cannot be interchanged freely, however, see (42). The genitive syntagms always obey the Genitive Rule. In the competing construction (42 b), the noun *Schönheit* seems to be a juxtaposed non-phrasal head (Duden 2009: paragraph 1562 / page 987):

- (42) a. Der Begriff [der “Schönheit”] bedarf theologisch einer Differenzierung
The concept of beauty needs a differentiation theologically.
www.rpi-loccum.de/material/ru-in-der-sekundarstufe-2/dallm; Dec. 2014
- b. In diesem Sinne ist der Begriff “Schönheit” überindividuell bzw. intersubjektiv.
In this sense, the concept of beauty is overindividual or intersubjective.
www.jg-eberhardt.de/schrift_wis.html; Dec. 2014

E. Partitive genitive

The partitive genitive follows a mass, container, count or collective term. It competes with a juxtaposed phrasal construction, called *partitive apposition* by some grammars (e.g. Duden 2009: 983 / paragraph 1556). The juxtaposed partitive DP/NP agrees in case with the matrix DP/NP or is underspecified with respect to case (= nominative form). In most contexts, the genitive construction is considered stylistically marked so that the juxtaposed construction dominates, however, see (48).

- (43) a. Genitive construction:
 % mit einem Glas [kühlen Wassers]
with a glass [of cool water]
- b. Violation of the Genitive Rule (ungrammatical):
 * mit einem Glas [Wassers]
with a glass [of water]
- c. Compulsory substitution:
 mit einem Glas [Wasser]
with a glass [of water]
- d. Expansion of the substitutive construction (i):
 mit einem Glas [frischem Wasser]
with a glass [of fresh water]
- d'. Expansion of the substitutive construction (ii):
 § mit einem Glas [frischen Wasser]
with a glass [of fresh water]
- d". Expansion of the substitutive construction (iii):
 ? mit einem Glas [frisches Wasser]
with a glass [of fresh water]

If the partitive phrase contains an inflected adjective, the construction with case agreement is highly preferred, see (43 d). Case underspecification as in (43 d") is considered non-standard by many grammarians, but there is some dissent; see Dückert/Kempcke (1984) for a positive evaluation of the latter construction. (43 d') is a non-standard variant of (43 d) with weak inflection of the adjective. Contrary to some grammarians (e.g. Hentschel 1993, Eisenberg 2013: 262), it should not be analyzed as an accusative form – in combination with neuter nouns such as *Wasser*, the adjectival accusative ending could only be *-es* (same ending as in the nominative, see (43 d")).

In contrast to complex partitive phrases, simple nouns as in (43 c) regularly appear in the nominative form. This is the form to be expected if they are underspecified for case. Case underspecification could explain why the syntagma is allowed, even if the superordinate DP/NP stays in the genitive (see also Zimmer 2015):

- (44) der Genuss eines Glases [Wasser]
 the consumption of a glass [of water]

Many native speakers are very insecure in such configurations, particularly with simple nouns as partitive items. Contrary to the Genitive Rule, we also find nouns with a genitive marker (with or without genitive marking at the matrix noun):

- (45) a. ° der Genuss eines Glas [Wassers]
 b. § der Genuss eines Glases [Wassers]
 (Both:) the consumption of a glass [of water]

Most speakers tend to avoid such configurations (mostly by substitution of the matrix genitive construction):

- (46) der Genuss von einem Glas [Wasser]
 the consumption of a glass [of water]

Real examples from the internet:

- (47) a. Viele Leute schwören auf die verdauungsfördernde Wirkung eines Glases [Wasser] auf nüchternen Magen.
 www.wellness-gesund.info/Artikel/13032.html; May 2007
 Many people support the idea that a glass of water has beneficial effects for digestion.
- b. ? Ulkigerweise haben die Kollegen keine Großfamilien, ..., werden bereits beim Anblick eines Glas [Wassers] seekrank und sind auch ...
 www.motor-talk.de/showthread.php?s=...; May 2007
 It's kind of funny that the colleagues do not have extended families, ..., get seasick even at the sight of a glass of water and are also ...
- c. § Will man beispielsweise den Entropieinhalt eines Glases [Wassers] messen, führt man diesem Wasser eine infinitesimale Menge Wärme zu.
 galacticinstitute.cnoc-reamhar.ch/science/t8001.html; June 2009
 If one wants measure the entropy of a glass of water, one supplies this water with an infinitesimally small amount of energy.

Collective nouns also allow partitive phrases with the prepositions *von* and *an*:

- (48) a. Genitive construction:
 Wir bestellten eine Anzahl [leistungsfähiger Computer].
 b. Optional substitution (i), apposition:
 Wir bestellten eine Anzahl [leistungsfähige Computer].
 c. Optional substitution (ii), PP with *von*:
 Wir bestellten eine Anzahl [von leistungsfähigen Computern].
 d. Optional substitution (iii), PP with *an*:
 Wir bestellten eine Anzahl [an leistungsfähigen Computern].
 (All:) We ordered a number [of powerful computers].
- (49) a. Violation of the Genitive Rule (ungrammatical):
 * Wir bestellten eine große Menge [Materials].
 b. Substitution (i), partitive apposition:
 Wir bestellten eine große Menge [Material].
 c. Substitution (ii), PP with *von*:
 Wir bestellten eine große Menge [von Material].

- d. Substitution (iii), PP with *an*:
Wir bestellten eine große Menge [an Material].
(All:) We ordered a large amount [of material].

Until the 19th century, constructions as in (49 a) were fully grammatical; see (72 c).

F. Preposition + genitive phrase

In written language, many prepositions govern the genitive case. If the Genitive Rule cannot be met, the government changes to one of two possibilities: (i) The preposition governs the dative, (ii) the preposition selects an embedded PP with the “auxiliary” preposition *von* (+ dative). Most prepositions allow only one of these constructions, see (50 c/d) vs. (51 c/e):

- (50) a. Genitive construction:
einschließlich [allen Verpackungsmaterials]
including [all packing material]
- b. Violation of the Genitive Rule (ungrammatical):
??? einschließlich [Verpackungsmaterials]
including [(the) packing material]
- c. Substitution (i), dative:
einschließlich [Verpackungsmaterial]
including [(the) packing material]
- d. Substitution (ii) *von* + dative:
??? einschließlich [von Verpackungsmaterial]
including [(the) packing material]
- e. Expansion of the substitutive construction:
§ einschließlich [allem Verpackungsmaterial]
including [all packing material]
www.umweltrecht.de/regelwerk/bau/laender/he/erbb.htm; June 2009
- (51) a. Genitive construction:
angesichts [größerer Hindernisse]
in the face of rather large problems
- b. Violation of the Genitive Rule (ungrammatical):
??? angesichts [Hindernisse]
in the face of problems
- c. Substitution (i), dative:
??? angesichts [Hindernissen]
in the face of problems
- d. Substitution (ii), *von* + dative:
angesichts [von Hindernissen]
in the face of problems
- e. Expansion of the substitutive construction:
angesichts [von größeren Hindernissen]
in the face of rather large problems

There are a few prepositions that allow a violation of the Genitive Rule, but only with strong masculine and neuter nouns in the singular; see below, (66).

G. Genitive object

A few German verbs combine with objects in the genitive case. The Genitive Rule is obeyed rather strictly here. To circumvent this restriction, some verbs allow another case or a functional preposition to be assigned. However, there is a residual group of verbs without any established option for the substitution of ungrammatical genitive phrases. Such verbs gradually fall into disuse.

- (52) a. Genitive construction:
Er enthielt sich [jeglichen Widerstands].
He abstained [from any resistance]
- b. Violation of the Genitive Rule (ungrammatical):
* Er enthielt sich [Widerstands].
He abstained [from resistance]
- c. Violation of the Genitive Rule (ungrammatical):
* Er enthielt sich [Widerstand].
He abstained [from resistance]
- d. Substitution (other verb):
Er verzichtete [auf Widerstand].
He abstained [from resistance]
- e. Expansion of the substitutive construction:
Er verzichtete [auf jeglichen Widerstand].
He abstained [from any resistance]

In modern standard German, only half a dozen verbs occur with a non-negligible frequency, e.g. *sich annehmen* and *gedenken*. In non-standard varieties these verbs tend to govern the dative instead of the genitive:

- (53) a. Genitive construction:
Er nahm sich [vieler Probleme] an.
He dealt [with many problems].
- b. Violation of the Genitive Rule (ungrammatical):
* Er nahm sich [allerlei Probleme] an.
He dealt [with all sorts of problems].
- b. Non-standard (dative):
§ Er nahm sich [allerlei Problemen] an.
He dealt [with all sorts of problems].
- d. Expansion of the non-standard use:
§ Er nahm sich [vielen Problemen] an.
He dealt [with many problems].

H. Adverbial genitive phrases

In modern standard German, there exists a limited number of lexicalized phrases in the genitive with the function of a temporal, modal or epistemic adverbial. They always follow the Genitive Rule. High frequency items of this kind are quite stable; low-frequency items tend to be substituted by prepositional phrases:

- (54) a. Das stimmt [unseres Erachtens].
In our opinion, that's correct.

- b. Julia rannte [sehenden Auges] ins Unglück.
Julia ran into disaster with her eyes open.
 - c. Ich erkundigte mich [höheren Orts].
I made an inquiry at a higher level in the hierarchy.
 - d. Sie hatte [letzten Endes] Erfolg.
She finally succeeded.
- (55) a. Genitive construction: % Sie trafen sich [des Abends].
They met in the evening.
- b. Substitution: Sie trafen sich [am Abend].
They met in the evening.

Simple word forms that end on *-s* are adverbs, prepositions or conjunctions synchronically; diachronically, they may descend from adverbial genitive phrases. We see here an instance of deflection: a former inflection morpheme has evolved to a semantically void marker for non-inflectable lexemes.

- (56) a. Sie trafen sich *abends*.
They met in the evening.
- b. Dieser Zug fährt *samstags* nicht.
This train don't run on Saturdays.
 - c. Ich hatte das *anfangs* noch nicht gemerkt.
I didn't realize that in the beginning.
 - d. Wir mussten *mangels* Unterstützung aufgeben.
We had to give up because of he lacking support.
 - e. Die Jugendlichen saßen *rings* um den Brunnen.
The adolescents sat in a circle around the well.
 - f. Ich gebe dir die Telefonnummer, *falls* du noch anrufen willst.
I'll give you the phone number, just in case you want to.

The orthographic rules of German traditionally demand lower case letters for these items. Apparently they were regarded as non-substantives for a long time. The orthographic reform of 1996 did not change this spelling.

I “Loose” apposition

In German grammars, the term *loose apposition* (“lockere Apposition”) refers to a non-restrictive supplement to a DP/NP which has the form of a DP/NP itself. Appositions of this kind are normally set off by commas in written language. In German, loose appositions are supposed to agree with the corresponding DP/NP in case, but there is a tendency to leave them underspecified with respect to case (= nominative form). Underspecification is particularly frequent if the superordinate DP/NP remains in the genitive, i.e., double genitives resulting from agreement are avoided (except in configurations with the definite or the indefinite article; see (32)/(33)):

- (57) a. Genitive → genitive (agreement):
die Pläne Jakob Moschs, [*eines Architekten* der Stadtverwaltung]
the plans by Jakob Mosch, an architect employed at the city administration
- b. Genitive → genitive (agreement, but violation of the Genitive Rule):
* die Pläne Jakob Moschs, [*Architekten* der Stadtverwaltung]
the plans by Jakob Mosch, architect employed at the city administration

- c. Substitution: genitive → underspecification:
die Pläne Jakob Moschs, [*Architekt* der Stadtverwaltung]
the plans by Jakob Mosch, architect at the city administration
- d. Expansion of the substitutive construction:
die Pläne Jakob Moschs, [*leitender Architekt* der Stadtverwaltung]
the plans by Jakob Mosch, leading architect at the city administration
- d'. Expansion of the substitutive construction:
§ die Pläne Jakob Moschs, [*ein Architekt* der Stadtverwaltung]
the plans by Jakob Mosch, an architect employed at the city administration

There is a second substitutive construction, considered non-standard: Here, the apposition appears in the dative (Leirbukt 1978, Gippert 1981):

- (58) a. Genitive → dative:
§ die Pläne Jakob Moschs, [*leitendem Architekten* der Stadtverwaltung]
the plans by Jakob Mosch, leading architect at the city administration
- b'. Genitive → dative, expansion of the use:
§ die Pläne Jakob Moschs, [*einem Architekten* der Stadtverwaltung]
the plans by Jakob Mosch, an architect at the city administration

There are also appositive dative phrases that refer to DPs/NPs in the accusative.

J *als/wie* + DP/NP

The particles *als* and *wie* appear in some constructions with modal or predicative semantics. The traditional rules demand that their DP/NP agree in case with the DP/NP they are referring to. But as in the preceding construction, there is a tendency to underspecification with respect to case or to assignment of dative case; the latter use is qualified as non-standard:

- (59) a. Genitive → genitive (agreement):
Eine Textsammlung für Kirche und Diakonie zur Einführung des Diakonats
als [*eines geordneten Amtes* der Kirche]
www.vedd.de/site-map.htm; May 2007
A text collection for the church and the diaconal institution to introduce the
deaconry as a official office of the church
- b. Violation of the Genitive Rule (marginal):
??? Jouanna beschäftigt sich mit der Stilisierung des französischen Geblütsadels als [*Hüters* der Verfassung und *Beschützers* des Königtums in den Religionskriegen]
www.koeblergerhard.de/ZRG118Internetrezensionen/RoesenerNobilitas2000091.htm; May 2007
Jouanna is studying the stylization of the french blood nobility as the constitution's guardian and the kingship's protector in the religious wars
- c. Genitive → underspecification (nominative):
Es ist dies eine Anthologie von Vortragsmanuskripten, mit deren Drucklegung das langjährige Wirken des Verstorbenen als [*Forscher und Lehrer*] dokumentiert wird
www.sbg.ac.at/rom/veranst/nachruf_karlinger.htm; May 2007
It is an anthology of lecture manuscripts whose publishing documents the deceased's long career as a researcher and teacher

- d. Expansion of the substitutive construction:
 Beim Trauergottesdienst wurde das Wirken des Verstorbenen als [*emphatisch* *Seelsorger*] besonders gewürdigt
 pius-burgkirchen.de/aktuelles/PaterWalerian.htm; May 2007
At the funeral service, the deceased's work as a caring spiritual counselor was especially acknowledged.
- e. Genitive → dative:
 § Statt einer Umsetzung der Geschichten bietet der Film eine Melange von typischen Ideen und Details der SF, einschließlich des Computers als [*gutem* *Tyrannen*]
 www.epilog.de/film/i-robot-usa-2004; Oct. 2013
Instead of a realization of the stories, the film presents a mere mixture of sci-fi's typical ideas and details including the computer as a good tyrant.

Unexpected behavior I

In modern standard German, some constructions seem to be avoided in spite of their accordance with the Genitive Rule:

- pronouns with genitive marker *-es*
- recurring genitive phrases

Pronouns with genitive marker *-es*

Contrary to the formally identical determiners, pronouns with the marker *-es* are marginal. Pronouns with the other genitive marker of the German Language, i.e. *-er* (feminine or plural; see (3)), are grammatical (M = masculine, F = feminine, PL = Plural):

- (60) a. ??? der Beitrag [jedes_M], der hier teilnimmt
the contribution of everyone_M / every man that participates
 b. ? der Beitrag [jeder_F], die hier teilnimmt
the contribution of everyone_F / every woman that participates
 c. der Beitrag [aller_{PL}], die hier teilnehmen
the contribution of all_{PL} (people) that participate
- (61) a. ??? der Schatz, [welches_M] sich die Räuber bemächtigt haben
the treasure_M the raiders took possession of
 b. die Prinzessin, [welcher_F] sich die Räuber bemächtigt haben
the princess_F the raiders took possession of
 c. die Schätze, [welcher_{PL}] sich die Räuber bemächtigt haben
the treasures_{PL} the raiders took possession of

But in elliptic constructions, the forms with *-es* can be used without limitations:

- (62) a. Da die Expertenmeinungen in einigen Punkten divergierten, stellt das 'Positionspapier' nicht immer die Meinung *jedes* der Experten dar.
 www.geothermie.de/uploads/media/GtV_Positionspapier_Seismizitaet_070710_01.pdf; Sept. 2014
Since the expert opinions diverged on some points, the 'position paper' does not (always) reflect the opinion of every expert.

- b. Mit dem Kauf *eines* der folgenden Produkte unterstützen Sie gleichzeitig Straßenkinderprojekte.

www.strassenkinder-archiv.de; 2005

By buying one of the following goods, you are also supporting projects taking care of street urchins.

The background of the constraint for pronouns is not clear. Perhaps the homonymy of nominative/accusative neuter and genitive masculine/neuter is distracting.

Recurring genitive phrases

Native speakers often reject recurring genitive phrases. This can particularly be seen in leftadjoining syntagms; see for example Duden IX (2011: 376) with respect to attributive genitive phrases) and Duden IX (2011: 749) with respect to genitive phrases after prepositions.

(63) ? [[genitive] genitive]

However, this construction is not strictly incorrect, and examples of this kind can easily be found in corpora:

- (64) a. % Norman lässt sich trotz [[Annas] angeblich fehlender Deutschkenntnisse] nicht von einer Konversation abhalten
www.tvspielfilm.de/.../b/bigbrother?artobj_id=...; May 2007
Despite Ann's allegedly lacking knowledge of German, Norman doesn't refrain from a conversation with her.
- b. % Dann gucken die Leute ... nicht mehr nur wegen [[Annas] blonder Haare]
mariella.wobistdujetzt.com/index.php?intMessageId=66106; May 2007
Then, people won't look at her anymore just because of her blond hair.
- c. % Als die Eltern den ersten Schreck und den Anblick [[Sarahs] abstehender Haare] verdaut haben, geht es am nächsten Tag gleich weiter
lernklick.de/lernhilfe/1301/englisch-tierisch-leicht/; May 2007
When the parents got over the first shock and the look of Sarah's bristling hair, they carried on the next day.

The following examples also violate the Genitive Rule (however, see below, prestigious prepositions):

- (65) a. % Doch prompt ging nun in der Union wegen [[Merkels] Rückzugs] das Gemäule gegen die CDU-Chefin los
www.abendblatt.de/daten/2004/01/21/253433.html; June 2007
However, because of Merkel's retreat, the grumbling against the CDU's chief started immediately in the Union.
- b. % Trotz [[Pauls] Verrats] ist ihm sein Schicksal nicht gleichgültig.
www.wiesnekker.com/download/interview_sat1.pdf; May 2007
Despite Paul's treason, his fate does matter to him.

The interpretation of these data is unclear. Perhaps the genitive-genitive configurations are prone to garden path effects.

Unexpected behavior II

The opposite of the phenomena discussed above are configurations that are considered grammatical in spite of violating the genitive Rule. This concerns the following constructions:

- Partitive appositions; see (43) above
- prestigious prepositions
- proper names without definite article
- derivations of geographical names with the suffix *-er*

Prestigious prepositions

With prepositions that appear frequently in traditional literary texts, simple nouns (i.e. nouns without a preceding article or a preceding inflected adjective) can bear the genitive marker *-s/-es*. The Genitive Rule predicts that such constructions are ungrammatical, as it can be observed in the plural form. The most important of these exceptional prepositions is *wegen* ('because'). The expected substitution with the dative case is considered non-standard or at least non-preferred by many grammars. Nonetheless, the dative construction can easily be found in non-literary texts:

- (66)
- Genitive construction: *wegen* [eines Todesfalls]
 - Violation of the genitive Rule, but acceptable: % *wegen* [Todesfalls]
 - Substitution (dative): § *wegen* [Todesfall]
 - Expansion of the substitutive construction: § *wegen* [einem Todesfall]
because of (a) death

In pluralic DPs/NPs without preceding article or adjective, the substitutive construction is compulsory:

- (67)
- Genitive construction: *wegen* [starker Schneefälle]
 - Violation of the genitive Rule: */§ *wegen* [Schneefälle]
 - Substitution (dative): *wegen* [Schneefällen]
 - Expansion of the dative construction: § *wegen* [starken Schneefällen]
because of (heavy) snowfalls

Note: Example (67 b) allows two readings: (i) as a DP/NP in the genitive, judged as ungrammatical according to the Genitive Rule; (ii) as a DP/NP in the dative with loss of the dative ending *-n*, judged as non-standard, see (26).

Real examples from the internet:

– Genitive construction:

- (68)
- Die Praxis ist wegen [Todesfalls] zu verkaufen und wird gegenwärtig von der langjährigen Kollegin weitergeführt.
www.business-acquisition.com
The practice is on sale due to a death and is led by a long-time colleague at the moment.
 - Mehrere Mittelmeerhäfen wurden wegen [Sturms] geschlossen.
www.toponline.ch
Several mediterranean ports were closed due to a storm.

– Dative construction:

- (69) a. Älterer Fachwerk-Bauernhof, geeignet zur Tierhaltung oder für andere Zwecke, wegen [Todesfall] zu verkaufen.
www.allgrund.com
Old timber-framed farm house, appropriate for animal farming or other applications, on sale due to a death.
- b. Dieselben Medien fanden nun die Sperrung des Bahnnetzes wegen [Sturm] uneingeschränkt richtig und sympathisch.
home.arcor.de/e.lauterbach/publik/misc/kyrill.html; May 2007
The same media now regarded the closing down of the rail network due to a storm just and reasonable.

Prepositions that are marginal in literary texts follow the Genitive Rule to a great extent:

- (70) a. ??? abzüglich [Rabatts]
minus discount
- b. ??? zwecks [Einkaufs]
for the purpose of purchase

Real examples of the dative construction from the internet:

- (71) a. Die Kosten belaufen sich abzüglich [Rabatt] auf 450 Euro.
www.stura.tu-ilmenau.de
The costs amount, minus discount, to 450 Euros.
- b. Die Leisten werden mittels [Leim] entlang des Risses angeschraubt
home.tiscali.de
By applying glue, the ledges are screwed alongside the crack.

Interpretation: The exceptional use of prepositions of the *wegen* type can be seen as a residue from previous periods of the German language. In Middle High German and even in Early Modern High German, simple nouns could fill a genitive phrase without restrictions:

- (72) a. Die erde wird nicht *wassers* satt.
The earth is not satisfied with water.
Luther, Martin (1534): Die Bibel. Sprüche 30:16.
- b. Der kaiser nahm *goldes* und *silbers* genug von dem von Mailand und zog mit seinem heere weg
www.regesta-imperii.de/id/1368-08-27_3_0_8_0_0_5109_4686a; 13.04.2016
The emperor took enough gold and silver from the ruler of Milan and moved away with his army.
- c. ... und multiplicirt dieses mit der Menge *Materials*, welche 1 Cubikfuß Wasser um 10 erwärmen kann
Tredgold, Thomas / Kühn, Otto Bernhard (1826): Grundsätze der Dampf-Heizung und der damit verbundenen Lüftung aller Arten von Gebäuden. Leipzig: Baumgärtner. Page 14.
... and multiply this by the amount of material which is able to warm up one cubic foot of water by 10.

As in the plural form, this pattern would have disappeared if there had not been the language purists that have artificially stopped the ongoing morphosyntactic change, i.e. the establishment of the Genitive Rule (Szczepaniak 2014). However, they were not fully successful. The old pattern is only used with a subset of prepositions (as mentioned: *wegen*, but also *während*, *trotz*). The use of the prepositional genitive evolved to a shibboleth, i.e.

to a distinctive marker for education and language awareness. Since then, the pattern passed down from one generation to the next. Today, most prescriptive grammars demand or at least prefer the old pattern for written standard language. In most non-standard varieties of German, however, the newer pattern with substitutive dative prevailed, in accordance with the Genitive Rule.

Proper nouns

In written standard German and in the colloquial language of the northern regions, a subset of proper names are used without articles, except when combined with an attribute (= secondary use of the article); see (73) vs. (74). The subset comprises personal names, company names and a significant number of geographic names, particularly city names.

- (73) a. [Anna] löste das Rätsel.
Ann solved the mystery.
 b. Ich besuchte [Berlin].
I visited Berlin.
- (74) a. [*Die* kluge Anna] löste das Rätsel.
Ann, who is clever, solved the mystery.
 b. Ich besuchte [*das* lebhafte Berlin].
I visited Berlin which is vivacious.

If used without an article, proper names of all genders have a special form with the “superstable marker” -s (never -es) (Dammel/Nübling 2006). This form is traditionally analyzed as a genitive form, since it can be found in many contexts demanding the genitive case, for example as a prenominal possessor:

- (75) a. [Annas] Vorschlag
Ann’s suggestion
 b. [Berlins] bekannteste Baustelle
Berlin’s most famous building site

In some substandard varieties of German, personal names are increasingly used with the definite article, even when not attributed, notably in the south of the German language area; see Elspaß/Möller (2003 et seq.). Consequently, the article-less forms with -s are substituted by other constructions in these areas:

- (76) a. § [Die Anna] löste das Rätsel.
Ann solved the mystery.
 b. § [Der Anna ihr] Vorschlag.
Ann’s suggestion (literally: the Ann her suggestion)
 b’. § Der Vorschlag [(von) der Anna]
Ann’s suggestion (literally: the suggestion of the Ann)

- (77) ((Karte))
www.atlas-alltagssprache.de/artikelvorne/; Feb. 2016

Geographic names as in (73 b) and (75 b) are also article-less in the southern regions; nonetheless, in the spoken language of these regions, the substitutive construction dominates:

- (78) die bekannteste Baustelle [von Berlin]
the most famous building site of Berlin

In written standard German, the forms with *-s* can be observed in the following syntactic contexts:

- (i) as prenominal and postnominal possessors
- (ii) as genitive object
- (iii) as complements of some prepositions

In all these contexts, the article-less forms with *-s* seem to contradict the Genitive Rule (30). In DPs/NPs with case agreement, they do not occur; see (iv).

(i) As possessive modifiers of a noun, the forms with *-s* occur in prenominal and postnominal positions. The prenominal use predominates (see also below). Remarkably, the postnominal use depends on word length: shorter proper names seem to be avoided, contrary to longer names, particularly those with two or three components (Zifonun 2001, Peschke 2014):

- (79) a. Prenominal: [Bachs] Fugen erfreuten die Konzertbesucher.
 b. Postnominal: % Die Fugen [Bachs] erfreuten die Konzertbesucher.
 c. Postnominal, substitutive construction: Die Fugen [von Bach] erfreuten die Konzertbesucher.
The concertgoers enjoyed Bach's fugues.
- (80) a. Prenominal: [Johann Sebastian Bachs] Fugen erfreuten die Konzertbesucher.
 b. Postnominal: Die Fugen [Johann Sebastian Bachs] erfreuten die Konzertbesucher.
 c. Postnominal, substitutive construction: Die Fugen [von Johann Sebastian Bach] erfreuten die Konzertbesucher.
The concertgoers enjoyed Johann Sebastian Bach's fugues.
- (81) a. Prenominal: Angela Merkel ist [Europas] bekannteste Politikerin.
 b. Postnominal: % Angela Merkel ist die bekannteste Politikerin [Europas].
 c. Postnominal, substitutive construction: Angela Merkel ist die bekannteste Politikerin [von Europa]
Angela Merkel is Europe's most famous politician.

(ii) Only few verbs of contemporary standard German govern genitive case, and even these verbs tend to govern alternative cases; see also (52) and (53):

- (82) a. % Ich habe mich extra [Julias] angenommen, weil ich letztens so viel Fanfiction gelesen habe, wo so etwas ständig vorkommt
www.literatopia.de/forum/printthread.php?tid=7293&page=5; Dec. 2014
I especially attended to Julia, because I've read a lot of fan fiction lately in which this happens a lot.
- b. § Dolph hat sich [Julia] angenommen
www.worldfantasywrestling.de/index.php?page=Thread&threadID=250; Dec. 2014
Dolph attended to Julia.
- (83) a. % Sie passt bestens zur kollektiven Depression, die sich [Deutschlands] bemächtigt hat.
www.taz.de/1/archiv/?dig=2004/09/11/a0158; Dec. 2014
It fits perfectly to the collective depression that took over Germany.

- b. § wenn eine invasorische Macht sich [Deutschland] bemächtigt
www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=...; Dec. 2014
if an invading army takes over Germany
- (84) a. Die Münchener Universität gedenkt Professor Hubers und der Geschwister Scholl.
www.weisse-rose-stiftung.de/images/pdf/Benzenberg-Denkmaeler.pdf; Dec. 2014
The University of Munich is commemorating Professor Huber and the Scholl siblings.
- b. § Die Universität gedenkt [Professor *Welzel*] mit einer Trauerfeier.
www.zv.uni-leipzig.de/service/presse/nachrichten.html/...; Sept. 2014
The university is commemorating Professor Welzel with a memorial service.
- c. § Der Bürgermeister gedenkt [Friedhelm *Schmidt*], der im Alter von 81 Jahre gestorben ist.
www.borgwedel.de/...; Sept. 2014
The mayor is commemorating Friedhelm Schmidt who died at the age of 81.

(iii) In written standard German, many prepositions govern genitive case. However, the forms of personal names with *-s* occur only rarely:

- (85) a. Kein Wunder, dass die Kooperation *seitens* [Merkels] nur begrenzt vorhanden war.
www.amazon.de/gp/aw/cr/rR3808QASJLREXK; Dec. 2014
No wonder there was only limited cooperation on Merkel's part.
- b. Substitution (dative): § Hier Unwissenheit *seitens* [Merkel] zu interpretieren ist lächerlich.
www.spiegel.de/forum/politik/...; Dec. 2014
It is ridiculous to read a lack of knowledge on Merkel's part into this matter.

Article-less geographic names seem to be more usual:

- (86) a. Schon etwas *außerhalb* [Berlins] sieht die Lage für Bewerberinnen und Bewerber oft besser aus.
www.tagesspiegel.de/wissen/...; Dec. 2014
Just outside of Berlin, things often look better for applicants.
- b. Substitution I (P + dative): *Außerhalb* [von Berlin] kann man unsere frischen Pilze derzeit nicht erwerben.
www.pilzzucht.chidos.org/...; Dec. 2014
One is not able to purchase our fresh mushrooms outside of Berlin.
- c. Substitution II (dative, non-standard): § Unser Team führt regelmäßig Verhaltensberatungen auch *außerhalb* [Berlin] durch.
www.tierberatungspraxis.de/pages/leistungen-und-kosten.php; Dec. 2014
Our team frequently gives expert advice on behavior (also) outside of Berlin.

Traditional standard German has also some postpositions (and some combinations that are often analyzed as circumpositions) that govern the genitive case. According to the prescriptive grammars, these items do not allow any substitutive construction and consequently fall into disuse in the long term. Occasionally, they are constructed using the forms of article-less proper names with *-s*:

- (87) a. Das war leichter gesagt als getan, zudem Alexandra [Stefans] *wegen* manchmal sehr dünnhäutig war.
 Angela Rommeiss: Alex und Alexandra (via Google-Books); Sept. 2014
This was easier said than done, besides Alexandra was very thin-skinned sometimes because of Stefan.
- b. Substitutive construction (ungrammatical): * [Stefan] *wegen*
- (88) a. Es gibt aber die Alternative, es muss sie *um* [Europas] *willen* geben.
 diepresse.com/home/meinung/gastkommentar/3829529/...; Sept. 2014
But there is the other way, it has to be there for the sake of Europe.
- b. Substitutive construction (non-standard, very rare): § *Um* [Europa] *willen* gilt es, am Euro festzuhalten.
 www.badische-zeitung.de/deutschland-1/...; Sept. 2014
For the sake of Europe, we must keep the Euro.

(iv) If a DP/NP receives genitive case by means of case agreement, the forms of proper names with -s hardly ever occur. Instead, we find nominative forms (interpretable as underspecified with respect to case):

- (89) a. ??? Das Zimmer [der jüngsten Tochter, [Karins]], stand offen.
 b. Das Zimmer [der jüngsten Tochter, [Karin]], stand offen.
The door of the room that belonged to the youngest daughter, Karin, was open.
- (90) b. Die Universität gedenkt [ihres Gründers, [Johann Friedrich]].
The university is commemorating its founder, Johann Friedrich.
 c. Otto wohnt außerhalb der [Landeshauptstadt, [Wiesbaden]].
Otto lives outside of the provincial capital, Wiesbaden.

As hinted repeatedly above, the token frequency of the forms on -s seems not to correspond with the general frequential tendencies of genitive constructions. A corpus research of Ackermann (in this volume) confirmed this suspicion. Ackermann has shown that one single use predominates drastically – the use as a prenominal possessor (see also Gallmann 1990; Zifonun 2001). In all other contexts, the forms on -s must be judged as residues from former periods of the German language.

- (91) Table: Genitive constructions of article-less proper names (% = residual use, stylistically marked; § = non-standard):

Genitive construction	Examples	Competing constructions
preposition	? wegen Karins <i>because of Karin</i> ??? abseits Karins <i>offside of Karin</i>	wegen Karin <i>because of Karin</i> abseits von Karin <i>aloof from Karin</i>
postposition circumposition	% Karins wegen <i>because of Karin</i> % um Europas willen <i>for the sake of Europe</i>	wegen Karin <i>because of Karin</i> § um Europa willen <i>for the sake of Europe</i>
postnominal	% die Ideen Karins <i>the ideas of Karin</i> ? die Vorschläge Iris' <i>the suggestions of Iris</i>	die Ideen von Karin <i>the ideas of Karin</i> die Vorschläge von Iris <i>the suggestions of Iris</i>
prenominal	Karins Ideen <i>Karin's ideas</i> Iris' Vorschläge <i>Iris' suggestions</i>	§ der Karin ihre Ideen <i>Karin's ideas</i> § der Iris ihre Vorschläge <i>Iris' suggestions</i>
object	% Ich nahm mich Karins an <i>I looked after Karin</i> % Man gedachte Einsteins <i>People commemorated Einstein</i>	§ Ich nahm mich Karin an <i>I looked after Karin</i> § Man gedachte Einstein <i>People commemorated Einstein</i>

If we neglect the residual usages, two questions arise:

- Why are the forms with -s allowed to contradict the Genitive Rule (30)?
- Why do these forms only appear prenominal?

The answers that can be found in the newer literature all tend to claim the same hypothesis: The forms with -s are no genitive forms at all – at least synchronically (Lindauer 1995, 1998; Demske 2001; Nübling 2012; Ackermann in this volume); however, see Neef (2006) for an opposite view. Diachronically, the change can be seen as an instance of deflection. In the details, the individual approaches differ:

- Lindauer (1995) assumes that the former genitive morpheme -s is reanalyzed as a derivational suffix. If added to proper names, the suffix changes their syntactic category; the result is something like a possessive adjective or a possessive determiner.
- Fuß (2011) and Ackermann (in this volume) propose that the morpheme -s is reanalyzed as a phrasal clitic, comparable to the development in English.

Derivations from geographical proper names with suffix *-er*

Primarily, derivations from geographical names with the suffix *-er* denote the inhabitants of the respective country, region or city:

- (92) a. Berlin → die Berliner
 Berlin → the citizens of Berlin
 b. die Schweiz → die Schweizer
 Switzerland → the Swiss, the inhabitants of Switzerland

If used prenominal, the derivations with *-er* have developed into relational adjectives (Fuhrhop 2003). However, in contrast to normal adjectives, they are never inflected:

- (93) eine Berliner Zeitung, die Kölner Studenten, die Schweizer Berge
 a Berlin newspaper, the students from Cologne, the Swiss mountains

Since they are uninflected, we expect that they cannot fulfill the formal requirements of the Genitive Rule (30). However, the homophony with the inflectional ending *-er* of strong adjectives led to genitive constructions as in (94). Some prescriptive grammars tolerate this use, for example Duden IX (2011: 281), though with a relativizing comment (“eigentlich nicht korrekt”, i.e. incorrect in the strict sense):

- (94) a. ? Stress löst nach Ansicht [Düsseldorfer Wissenschaftler] Parodontitis aus.
 www.zahnarztpraxis-schiffel.de
 Stress causes parodontitis, Düsseldorf-based scientists claim.
 b. ? Eine Zahl, die sich nach Ansicht [Berliner Ärzte] deutlich senken ließe.
 www.ndr.de
 A number which could be significantly decreased according to physicians from Berlin.
 c. ? Nach Berichten [Hongkonger Zeitungen] fand Präsident Lee bei den Besuchern viel Verständnis.
 www.jungewelt.de
 As is reported by Hongkong-based newspapers, president Lee was shown a lot of understanding by the visitors.

Some other constructions

Occasionally, one stumbles over other constructions that violate the Genitive Rule. Some of them are presumably performance errors. Because of this, confusions of the genitive forms *deren* and *dessen* with the case-agreeing possessive determiners of the *sein/ihr* type are not infrequent. The results are sentences such as (95):

- (95) 50 Facebook User mit einer Erkältung wurden ausgewählt und mit Hilfe *deren* Freunde eine amüsante Kampagne gestartet.
 www.socialmediacub.at/2012/01/deine-facebook-freunde-verraten-dich.html; Sept. 2014
 50 Facebook users who had caught a cold were chosen and an amusing campaign was started with the help of their friends.

Other deviations seem to be lexically bound and therefore can be interpreted as residual patterns. One such example shows instances of the Genitivus qualitatis with the determiners *beide* (‘both’) or *beiderlei* (‘both kind of’) and the noun *Geschlecht* (‘gender’):

- (96) a. Als stimmberechtigte Mitglieder können Personen *beiderlei Geschlechts* nach Vollendung des 18. Lebensjahres aufgenommen werden.
<http://www.tusbarop.de/php/hauptverein/haupt-satzung.php>; Sept. 2014
Persons of both sexes can be affiliated as members entitled to vote at the age of 18.
- b. Im folgenden Text sind generell Personen *beiden Geschlechts* gemeint, auch wenn teilweise nur die weibliche Form verwendet wird.
www.stadt-zuerich.ch/...; Sept. 2014
In the following text, persons of both sexes are addressed, even though sometimes only feminine forms are used.

Note the singular form of the nouns; this points to a distributive reading. With other cases, this usage is less frequent:

- (97) a. Gleiches Recht für beides Geschlecht.
www.youtube.com/all_comments?v=c4omAzLlHaM; Dec. 2014
Equal rights for both sexes.
- b. *beiderlei* Geschlecht ist vertreten
schaefer-kh.de/cc/cc_wir.htm; Dec. 2014
Both sexes are represented.

The Genitive Rule and the tendency to redundancy-free inflection

In German, there is a tendency to reduce inflectional redundancy in DPs/NPs. It also involves genitive phrases – as long as the Genitive Rule is not violated.

Three phenomena can be observed:

- Only one genitive morpheme → no genitive ending on the noun
- Only one genitive morpheme → the ending *-es* of determiners is replaced with *-en*
- Preference for uninflected nouns after prepositions with unstable case government

Loss of the genitive ending of nouns

The prescriptive grammars only partially allow redundancy-free patterns with only one clear genitive morpheme. The loss of the noun's genitive morpheme *-s/-es* is allowed with proper names (also with secondary use of the article; see (74)) and similar common nouns such as the names of months. See also Zimmer (in this volume):

- (98) a. Die Pyramide des *Matterhorns* besteht aus afrikanischen Gesteinen
www.uvek.admin.ch
The pyramid of the Matterhorn consists of African rock.
- b. Den Grundstein für den alpinen Tourismus legte dagegen Edward Whymper 1865 durch die Besteigung des *Matterhorn*.
media.node5.ovaz.ch
In 1865, Edward Whymper layed the foundations for alpine tourism by climbing the Matterhorn.
- (99) a. Anton → der kluge Anton → des klugen Anton(s)
Anton → the smart Anton → the smart Anton's (belonging to the smart Anton)
- b. Jena → das lebhaftige Jena → des lebhaften Jena(s)
Jena → the lively Jena → the lively Jena's (belonging to the lively Jena)

- (100) a. Die schlimmsten Windböen wurden in den letzten Stunden des *Januars* notiert.
www.eifelwetter.de
The worst gusts of wind were recorded in the last hours of January.
- b. Im Laufe des *Januar* würden die Arbeiten ... weitergeführt.
www.europarl.eu.int
In the course of January the work would be continued.

In addition, the loss of the nominal genitive endings is allowed with abbreviations that are spoken letter by letter such as EKG (spoken: [e:ka:ge:]):

- (101) des EKG(s), die Berechnung des IQ(s)
the ECG's (of the ECG), the calculation of the IQ

With other nouns, the loss of the nominal case ending is judged as non-standard:

- (102) a. § Intel und AMD haben unterschiedliche Wege gefunden, wie man den Takt und die Spannung während *des Betrieb* beliebig variieren kann.
www.pc-erfahrung.de
Intel and AMD found different ways to vary core frequency and voltage as desired during operation.
- b. § Die Prüfungskommission war von der Gestaltung *des Konzert* genauso angetan wie das Publikum.
www.uni-magdeburg.de
The examination board was as pleased by the concert as the rest of audience.
- c. § Bisheriger Höhepunkt *des Protest* war eine Aktion von Studenten vor dem Wall-Kino anlässlich der Eröffnung des Oldenburger Filmfests.
www.asta-oldenburg.de
Up to now, the protest's climax was a students' campaign in front of the Wall-Kino during the opening of the Oldenburg Film Festival.

The special status of proper names can be explained by the observation that they are subject to stronger requirements for scheme constancy: Proper names may alter their shape only minimally or not at all (Nübling, Fahlbusch & Heuser 2012). See also Ackermann (in this volume) for scheme constancy and proper names, Schlücker (in this volume) for scheme constancy regarding proper name compounds and Zimmer (in this volume) for scheme constancy regarding all peripheral nouns in German.

Determiners: weak vs. strong endings

In genitive constructions with masculine and neuter nouns, many determiners vary between the specific strong ending *-es* and the unspecific weak ending *-en*. There is an increasing tendency for the weak ending if the noun bears the specific ending *-s/-es*. genitive phrases without any specific genitive ending are ungrammatical – in accordance with the Genitive Rule (30). See (31), repeated here as (103):

- (103) a. Das ist die Pflicht [jedes Schülers].
b. Das ist die Pflicht [jeden Schülers].
c. Das ist die Pflicht [jedes Studenten].
d. * Das ist die Pflicht [jeden Studenten].
(All:) That is the duty of every student.

Variant (103 b) does not violate the rules for the feature distribution in DPs/NPs (12). It suffices to assume that the primary feature bearer (here: *jeden*) does not need to be identical with the item that indicates the genitive case (here: *Schülers*).

In a study performed by the Duden publishing house in their big internal corpus, the ratio between the variant *jeden* to the variant *jedes* was 1:2 (2009). In lexicalized phrases, the forms with *-en* even prevail:

- (104) a. Menschen [jedes/jeden Alters]
 persons [of all ages]
 b. bar [allen Verstandes]
 without [any intellect]

With some determiners, the prescriptive grammars disallow the forms with *-en*. Nevertheless, such forms are easy to be found in any corpus. Here too, the forms with *-en* are more frequent with lexicalized phrases. It can be assumed that with lexicalized phrases, the visibility of the genitive case is less important than with occasional phrases:

- (105) a. § Am Ersten [diesen Monats] hatte ich 15 EUR an die Telekom überwiesen.
 www.supportnet.de
 On the first day of this month, I transferred 15 Euros to the Telekom.
 b. § Bei Menschen [meinen Alters] rufen Lärm und Widerspruch plötzlich erhöhten Blutdruck hervor.
 www.angua.net
 Noise and opposition instantly cause hypertension in people my age.
 c. § Du würdigtest mich [keinen Blickes] mehr.
 www.neon.de
 You ignore me. (literally: You don't cast a glance at me.)

The preference against case forms of nouns

Some prepositions, mostly used in written language, vary between genitive and dative government. There is a tendency to prefer those syntagms where the noun can remain uninflected. In the singular, this favors the dative, in the plural the genitive – as long as the Genitive Rule (30) is respected. If the Genitive Rule were violated, the government of dative is compulsory, see (107 e) vs. (107 f). The only exception can be seen in (106 e), as discussed above (see (66) and (67)):

- (106) a. trotz [des starken Regens]
 b. trotz [dem starken Regen]
 c. trotz [starken Regens] → (66 b)
 d. trotz [starkem Regen]
 e. trotz % [Regens]
 f. trotz [Regen]
 despite the (heavy) rain
- (107) a. trotz [der starken Regenfälle]
 b. trotz [den starken Regenfällen]
 c. trotz [starker Regenfälle]
 d. trotz [starken Regenfällen]
 e. trotz */§ [Regenfälle] → (67 b)
 f. trotz [Regenfällen] → (67 c)
 despite the (heavy) rainfalls

However, divergent syntagms are not infrequent in texts that have not been proofread:

- (108) a. Das Nauheimer Wetter zeigte sich trotz §Regenfälle am Nachmittag von seiner besten Seite.

www.nauheim.de/magazin/artikel.php?artikel=1755&type=&menuid=182&topmenu=53; Oct. 2013

Despite the rainfalls, the weather in Nauheim was fine in the afternoon.

- b. Rekordbeteiligung trotz °Regens beim Benefix-Lauf in Weimar

www.thueringer-allgemeine.de/startseite/detail/-/specific/Rekordbeteiligung-trotz-Regens-beim-Benefix-Lauf-in-Weimar-1166422594; Oct. 2013

Record attendance despite rain at the charity race in Weimar.

Conclusion

The Genitive Rule (30) is an epiphenomenon based on a visibility condition for genitive case on the one hand and the rules for the distribution of case, number and gender features within the DP/NP on the other:

(30) **Genitive Rule**

A DP/NP can bear genitive case only if (i) and (ii):

- (i) The DP/NP contains at least one non-nominal feature bearer.
- (ii) The DP/NP contains at least one item with the ending *-es/-s* or *-er*.

The Genitive Rule predicts the occurrence of genitive syntagms and their competitors with other cases rather exactly. Nonetheless, some exceptions can be observed. Most of them can be explained as residual, for example simple nouns after some prepositions (as in *wegen Sturms* 'because of a storm'). However, there is one construction that deserves a closer look, namely the prenominal forms of article-less proper names with *-s*. These forms must be analyzed most likely as an instance of deflection: Historically true genitive forms, they constitute synchronically either possessive items of the category D or A or orthographically disguised combinations with a phrasal suffix (as in English).

Literature

- Bayer, Josef / Bader, Markus / Meng, Michael (2001): Morphological Underspecification meets Oblique Case: Syntactic and Processing Effects in German. In: *Lingua* 111 / 2001. Seiten 465–514.
- Carstairs-McCarthy, Andrew (2008): System-congruity and violable constraints in German weak declension. In: *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 2008 / 26, 775–793.
- Dammel, Antje / Nübling, Damaris (2006): The Superstable Marker as an Indicator of Categorical Weakness. In: *Folia Linguistica* XL/1-2, 97–113.
- Demske, Ulrike (2001): Merkmale und Relationen. *Diachrone Studien zur Nominalphrase im Deutschen*. Berlin / New York: de Gruyter (= *Studia Linguistica Germanica*, 56).
- Dückert, Joachim / Kempcke, Günter (Hrsg.) (1984): *Wörterbuch der Sprachschwierigkeiten. Zweifelsfälle, Normen und Varianten im gegenwärtigen Sprachgebrauch*. Leipzig: Bibliographisches Institut.
- [Duden IX (2011) =] Dudenredaktion (ed.) (2011): *Gutes und richtiges Deutsch. Das Wörterbuch der sprachlichen Zweifelsfälle*. Mannheim: Dudenverlag.
- Eisenberg, Peter (2013): *Grundriss der deutschen Grammatik. Volume 2: Der Satz. 4., aktualisierte und überarbeitete Auflage*, unter Mitarbeit von Rolf Thieroff. Stuttgart: Metzler.
- Elsaß, Stephan / Möller, Robert (2003 et seq.): *Atlas zur deutschen Alltagssprache (AdA)*. Universität Salzburg / Université de Liège.
- Fuhrhop, Nanna (2003): 'Berliner Luft' und 'Potsdamer' Bürgermeister: Zur Grammatik der Stadtadjektive. In: *Linguistische Berichte* 193 / 2003, 91–108.

- Fuß, Eric (2011): Eigennamen und adnominaler Genitiv im Deutschen. In: Linguistische Berichte 225, 19–42.
- Gallmann, Peter (1996): Die Steuerung der Flexion in der DP. In: Linguistische Berichte 164 / 1996, 283–314.
- Gallmann, Peter (1996): Partitive Genitive und adverbiale Akkusative. Syntax und Morphologie von Indefinita des Typs *etwas*. In: Tappe, Hans Thilo / Löbel, Elisabeth (eds.) (1996): Die Struktur der Nominalphrase. (= Wuppertaler Arbeitspapiere zur Sprachwissenschaft, 12), 42–57.
- Gallmann, Peter (1990): Kategoriell komplexe Wortformen. Tübingen: Niemeyer (= Reihe Germanistische Linguistik, 108).
- Gallmann, Peter (2017 / im Erscheinen): Zur Flexionsmorphologie von *ein*. In: Döring, Sandra / Geilfuß-Wolfgang, Jochen (eds.) (2015): Probleme syntaktischer Kategorisierung: Einzelgänger, Außenseiter und mehr. Tübingen: Stauffenburg-Verlag.
- Gippert, Jost (1981): Zur Dativ-Apposition im Deutschen. In: Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur, 103, 31–62.
- Hentschel, Elke (1993): Flexionsverfall im Deutschen? Die Kasusmarkierung bei partitiven Genitivattributen. In: Zeitschrift für germanistische Linguistik, 21.3/1993, 320–333.
- Leirbukt, Oddleif (1978): Über dativische Appositionen bei akkusativischem Bezugswort im Deutschen. In: Linguistische Berichte, 55, 1–17.
- Lindauer, Thomas (1995): Genitivattribute. Eine morphosyntaktische Untersuchung zum deutschen DP/NP-System. Tübingen: Niemeyer (= Reihe Germanistische Linguistik, 155).
- Lindauer, Thomas (1998): Attributive Genitive Constructions in German. In: Alexiadou, Artemis / Wilder, Chris (eds.) (1998): Possessors, Predicates and Movement in the Determiner Phrase. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins (= Linguistik Aktuell / Linguistics Today, 22), 109–140.
- Neef, Martin (2006): Die Genitivflexion von artikellos verwendbaren Eigennamen als syntaktisch konditionierte Allomorphie. In: Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft 25.2 / 2006, 273–300.
- Nübling, Damaris / Fahlbusch, Fabian / Heuser, Rita (2012): Namen. Eine Einführung in die Onomastik. Tübingen: Narr (= Narr Studienbücher).
- Nübling, Damaris (2012): Auf dem Wege zu Nicht-Flektierbaren: Die Deflexion der deutschen Eigennamen diachron und synchron. In: Rothstein, Björn (ed.) (2012): Nicht-flektierende Wortarten. Berlin: de Gruyter (= Reihe Linguistik – Impulse und Tendenzen), 224–246.
- Peschke, Simone (2014): *Merkels Politik* vs. die *Politik Merkels*. Eine korpusbasierte Untersuchung zur Prä- und Poststellung von Eigennamen im Genitiv. In: Friedhelm Debus / Rita Heuser / Damaris Nübling (eds.): Linguistik der Familiennamen, 233–248. (Germanistische Linguistik 225–227). Hildesheim, Zürich & New York: Olms.
- Plank, Frans (1980): Encoding grammatical relations: acceptable and unacceptable non-distinctness. In: Fisiak, Jacek (ed.) (1980): Historical Morphology. The Hague: Mouton, 289–325.
- Schachtl, Stefanie (1989): Morphological Case and Abstract Case: Evidence from the German Genitive Construction. In: Bhatt, Christa / Löbel, Elisabeth / Schmidt, Claudia (Hrsg.) (1989): Syntactic Phrase Structure Phenomena in Noun Phrases and Sentence. Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 99–112.
- Scott, Alan K. (2014): The Genitive Case in Dutch and German. A Study of Morphosyntactic Change in Codified Languages. (Brill's Studies in Historical Linguistics 2). Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Szczepaniak, Renata (2014): Sprachwandel und sprachliche Unsicherheit. Der formale und funktionale Wandel des Genitivs seit dem Frühneuhochdeutschen. In: Plewnia, Albrecht / Witt, Andreas (eds.), Sprachverfall? Dynamik – Wandel – Variation, 33–49. (Institut für Deutsche Sprache, Jahrbuch 2013). Berlin & Boston: de Gruyter.
- Sturm, Afra (2005): Eigennamen und Definitheit. Tübingen: Niemeyer (= Linguistische Arbeiten, 498).
- Zifonun, Gisela (2001): Eigennamen in der Narrenschlacht. Oder: Wie man Walther von der Vogelweide in den Genitiv setzt. In: Sprachreport 3 / 2001, 2–5.
- Zimmer, Christian (2015): Bei einem Glas guten Wein(es): Der Abbau des partitiven Genitivs und seine Reflexe im Gegenwartsdeutschen. Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur (PBB) 137. 1–41.